

VIRGINIA'S LIBRARIAN

Mr. John Pendleton Kennedy Assumes Charge To-Morrow

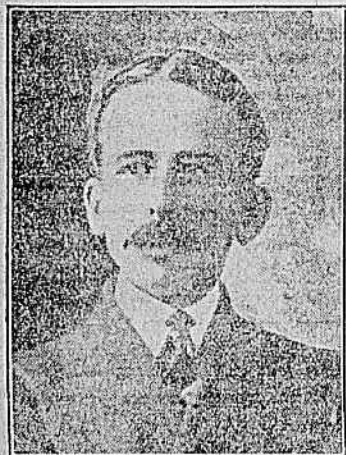
VALUABLE EXPERIENCE

It Was Gained in the Congressional Library, Washington—Comes of Excellent Virginia Stock, Though a Native of West Virginia.

To-day—in law, to-morrow, as a matter of fact—Mr. John Pendleton Kennedy becomes the Librarian of Virginia, having guardianship over the seventy-five thousand or more volumes and the invaluable manuscripts belonging to the State. For a month since the resignation of Mr. W. W. Scott took effect, Mr. John Jackson has served the State acceptably as charge d'affaires in the classic building in the southeastern section of the Capitol Square. In that month Mr. Kennedy has accomplished two things—severed himself from the Congressional Library, in Washington, and become the Librarian of Virginia, having guardianship over the seventy-five thousand or more volumes and the invaluable manuscripts belonging to the State. For a month since the resignation of Mr. W. W. Scott took effect, Mr. John Jackson has served the State acceptably as charge d'affaires in the classic building in the southeastern section of the Capitol Square. In that month Mr. Kennedy has accomplished two things—severed himself from the Congressional Library, in Washington, and become the Librarian of Virginia, having guardianship over the seventy-five thousand or more volumes and the invaluable manuscripts belonging to the State.

COMES OF VIRGINIA STOCK. Mr. Kennedy is a native of Charleston, W. Va., but comes of old Virginia families, whose history is to a good measure a history of the Commonwealth itself. Kennedy and Rutherford are mighty good Virginia names. His father was John W. Kennedy, Esq., his grandfather, Andrew Kennedy, Esq., master of "Castles," a rendezvous of Washington Irving, Philip P. Kennedy, the author of "Blackwater Chronicles," David Strother (Fort Crayon), and the Librarian's uncle, John P. Kennedy, author of "Horsehoe Robinson."

Prior to her marriage his mother was



MR. JOHN P. KENNEDY, New State Librarian.

Miss Sarah Mark Rutherford, of Jefferson county. Her father was Thomas Rutherford, for many years sheriff of Jefferson county, and one of the best known citizens of that section. The families represented in Mr. Kennedy have a large connection in this State, including the Dandridges, Pendletons, Cookes, Strothers, Duffields and others. The Virginia Librarian is a gentleman of wide culture, who knows and loves books. Much of his life has been spent in tasks of classifying them, cataloging and rendering them of use to the public. He comes to the Virginia Library after five years' experience and training in the greatest library in this country. These years have been spent in routine work, particularly in the reference division, and doubtless he has acquired a knowledge which will come to his assistance mightily in aiding the students who daily seek the splendid volumes owned by this State.

THE PRIMARY IN DANGER

A Summary of Arguments Against the Handicap of Viva Voice Voting.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch: Sir,—There is a picture in the minds of many of some "good old time" in Virginia, or the country at large, when viva voice voting was the only method of voting; when it worked like a charm, and conferred some inestimable blessings which have taken their flight since the "degeneracy" of a secret ballot. This picture is a myth. There never was in any time a more execrable system of voting than viva voice. It never worked like a charm; the only truth in the picture being that the system, owing to the earlier conditions, was more tolerable in former days than now. Our predecessors gave up "old viva voce" because they recognized the superiority of a secret ballot, and had long known and felt the faults of oral voting. Secrecy is the sine qua non of a perfectly and universally free ballot, and a free ballot is simply another name for free government. Never did the cause of

SCROFULA A DISEASE WE INHERIT.

Scrofula manifests itself in many ways. Swelling of the glands of the neck and throat, Catarrh, weak eyes, white swellings, offensive sores and abscesses, skin eruptions, loss of strength and weakness in muscles and joints. It is a miserable disease and traceable in almost every instance to some family blood taint. Scrofula is bred in the bone, is transmitted from parent to child, the seeds are planted in infancy and unless the blood is purged and purified and every atom of the taint removed Scrofula is sure to develop at some period in your life.

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Extra heavy White Counterpane, 11-4 size, nothing better to be had for less than \$1.25, here at.....	\$1.00
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Double Face German Drapery, very heavy, the latest designs and below what you pay elsewhere.....	20c
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Mattings, Oil Cloth, Trunks, Satchels and Hand Bags.

Floor Oil Cloth, good quality, large variety of patterns to select from, per square yard.....	25c
One lot of 25 dozen Men's Suspenders, worth 50c., we are closing out, job, our price will be.....	15c

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free government make a greater stride than with the introduction of the secret ballot.

At the present time in Virginia it is held that the great objection to viva voce voting in our Democratic primaries is that men do not like openly to choose between their friends and neighbors competing for nominations in each locality, and that hence they are either forced to that unpleasantness or else stay away from the polls.

It is true that the objection is commonly enough heard and is valid enough; but the argument against viva voce voting, either in our Democratic primaries or anywhere else, goes far deeper than that, and contemplates the welfare of the State as well as personal disinclination of voters.

Let them be lost sight of, let us epitomize some of the most serious indictments against open voting, the fallacies advanced in its favor, and its vices, when contrasted with secret voting—vices which by the strangest atavism have been resurrected and foisted upon a great reform in our Democratic party government.

IT CLINCHES CORRUPTION.

1. Viva voce voting offers the greatest opportunities for successful bribery. The first thing which the corruptionist considers is the "delivery of the goods" and this can be certified to by the living voice of a bribed voter, whose reward is the "delivery of the goods." With a secret ballot a scamp has no way of proving delivery to his purchaser. He can take the bribe and still vote his real sentiments. But some one says: "Your secret ballot law would thus compound a felony." No. The secret ballot has not been devised with the motive of having bribers cheated in this way, or with a view to encouraging voters to get money from bribers under false pretenses. Its purpose is, by permitting such a possibility and by the fear of it, to deter corruptionists from offering bribes at all, owing to the uncertainty of the investment. It was not devised as a means of converting or changing the heart of either the voter or the cheat—it would be a poor thing on that score—but its high moral motive is to protect the State from the greatest crime and injury that can be committed against it, namely, the corruption of the suffrage, the falsification of the real verdict of the people rendered for the guidance of their government.

2. The viva voce system lends itself admirably to all the devices of the demagogue and the manipulator of voters. At any time on election day such a "worker" can, along with the general public, know exactly how the vote stands. He can attempt the weaker voters (who may nevertheless have honest opinions of their own, and valuable to be expressed) by the "band wagon" argument. It is surprising how many good people vote simply to be on the parade, or to show winning, or to show the impression of victory, or all know, is the first effect sought in unwholesome "practical politics." But there is no light for the voter nor benefit for the State in this trick of the trade, whose elimination, with all its deceptive and baleful power over the voter, is of itself

Not only must the laborer be protected from the employer, but he must be protected from the tyranny of his fellow-laborer in these days of labor unions. We have had some fine illustrations in Virginia of how the secret ballot protects labor from the intimidation of labor. Readers of our newspapers can recall the cases where strikers (and no longer the laborer) used the viva voce, the strike being called off the moment a secret ballot was taken. If we want object lessons, instead of arguments, need we look further than these cases?

IT IS NO SCHOOL OF "MANLINESS." The advocates of "old viva voce" are fond of pointing to its alleged "manliness." They say that many brave, truthful, and honest men do not care who knows how they vote. In reply a demurrer to evidence is in order. What if it be true? Men will never be made brave by open voting, which sometimes is a "school" for the display of courage, cowardice and lies, on the other hand, are confirmed in their error and shut up to it by open voting. So that while that system does not make men brave or truthful it does make them give way to timidity and falsehood. For cannot a man lie or show cowardice with the living voice when he voted? His open vote proves nothing. John Smith let us say, with his living voice, and "like a man," vote "dry" at the polls. Does that show that John Smith has the courage of his convictions, and "isn't afraid of the scoundrel element" in politics or business? Or does it show that he is "priest ridden" and bidding for the patronage of his "church" people against the judgment of what is wise in government? Is the latter the case, he is lying viva voce, finding under the "manly" system of open voting a cloak for his cowardice, falsehood, and other unworthiness, and is even able to pose as brave, truthful and manly. He would have had an opportunity to parade his virtues, no temptation to yield to his vices, had he voted secretly. His real character would not have been impaired or made. With secrecy, to suppress or falsify his real convictions would be motiveless.

Besides, does secret voting make a brave man timid? How is he hurt? But if it could that that viva voce voting taught men to be brave and truthful and manly, as its advocates claim, the plea would still involve an ab-

surdity. For the chief end of suffrage is not to make voters brave, nor to enable them to show that they are brave, but to discover the real sentiments and will of the people for the guidance of the government. If a system of polling the voters is such that they have no concealable motive for not expressing their true will (and such a system is secret voting), then it is the best possible for its momentous purpose, and no incidentals must obscure or thwart its chief end. If you believe, for instance, that jury trial is not the best means of arriving at the truth, will you maintain it because it enables jurors to learn some law? If your voting watchdog's teeth meet in the calf of your leg, are you submissive or enthusiastic because it is good training for the dog?

The policy of the State is the verdict of a jury—the people. A true verdict is the real opinion of the jury whether secretly or openly held. And that is what we must get for the State at all hazards by a system of polling, or else the State's policy becomes false and confused and the misfortune thus befalls it.

IT DRIVES OFF VOTERS.

Forcing the voters to vote publicly by word of mouth does not make them more independent or manly. It simply keeps too many of them away from the polls. Not the "upper" or "lower" class either. The stay-at-homes are highly respectable, worthy and intelligent, belonging to the upper and middle classes who "can't afford" or "don't care to offend." Again, too, many men known to be as brave as a lion on a battlefield are as timid as a mouse at a polling booth, and would only there. This may be strange, but observers know that it is true.

While an election viva voce carries with it a certain unimpeachableness of the count, yet effective legal provisions against a false count are far easier of attainment than effective laws against pressure, corruption, coercion and manipulation of voters, all of which can hold a carnival with an open vote. A fair count even, is nothing without a free ballot. Fairness of count can be guaranteed by in many ways other than by the surrender of the secret ballot, and this should be done, when it is seen that the secret ballot is an only way to a free ballot.

And, as a practical question is before Virginians whether this obsolete and discarded method of viva voce voting is to be perpetuated, beyond the limits of its present offensive disfigurement, in the government of the Democratic party. The present situation is a strange anomaly. Let us see if it is not:

The Democratic party is responsible for our State government through its Legislature; it was also responsible for our late Constitutional Convention. In both these spheres of its activity the party overwhelmingly rejects open voting. Now the party government, so far as administrative methods are concerned, is supposed to be that which the majority of open voters, as a matter of approximation, to the actual legal government in force over the whole people. It is supposed that a party will, for itself, adopt its own pattern furnished by it to the people at large. Yet our State Democratic party, by one of its agencies, is made to appear guilty of the grossest inconsistency—establishing one method of going for the people and another for the party. The inconsistency is all the more glaring when the inferior method is applied to party elections, which in this State are widely conceded to be "the whole thing."

That good party government is modeled after regular legal government is shown in the case of primary elections. For primary elections are held and desirable because they are simply the doing with in "the party" what is done among "the people" on a lawful election day. The man who objects to that—the man who has any doubts about it—the man who does not know what he thinks about it—the man who hesitates to commit himself—must be a coward, a hypocrite, a conservative and cautious statesman; he may imagine himself, but he is simply an opponent or a questioner of popular government itself. If he does not think that the will of all the people in a party should be surely and accurately ascertained, he is no Democrat, nor even a Democrat. If he thinks the secret method of ascertaining the people's will, but that same method "won't do" when "the people" in the case have substituted name of "the party," then he stultifies himself so sadly that it is charity to his intellect to question his motives as sinister or personal.

The Democratic party of Virginia has shown itself anxious to have all its affairs managed with the same precision which is its rule in the wider republic of State government. Hence, in its convention it declared for primary elections.

But it should be said with great emphasis that the Democratic party, when assembled, has never declared for the reinstatement of the repudiated method of viva voce voting—repudiated in law-making for the whole people. And it is now the wonder of many how an agency of the party, its State Committee—a body of limited and delegated authority—could, when obeying a mandate of its principal in one specified matter, find any warrant for introducing new subjects and lending upon the name of the party to a "convention" assembled for the purpose of making it unpopular. It is not necessary or profitable here to attempt to settle the truth of that charge. The motive did a bad day's work, without any commission to perform it, and therefore "old viva voce" should be made to go, and should not stand upon the order of its going.

THE PRIMARY IN DANGER. That the plan of making Democratic nominations in Virginia by a primary election, instead of by mass meeting or convention, has subtle and determined enemies, no well informed person can doubt.

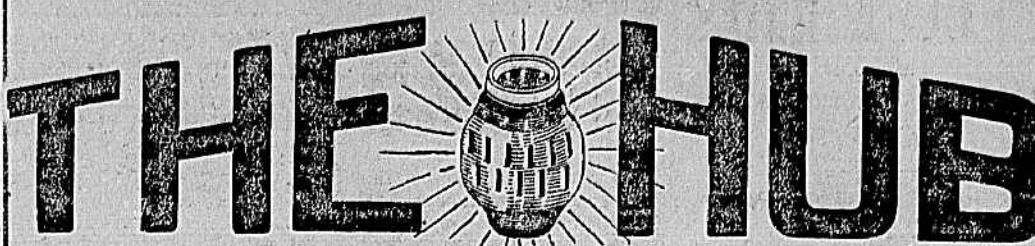
The primary, then (the principal itself, not the alien viva voce voting that has been plastered upon it) in danger? Most certainly it is. And the press and people of the State do not seem to have realized the immensity of the danger to the next State convention? Not at all. The primary is strong with the people. Nobody doubts that. Yet a strong chain is no stronger than its weakest link. And there is a weak link in the bonds of authority which hold the primary principle, as enshrined in the last State convention, in force.

Let us see what it is: It is said that the primary is now on trial, and that if the people do not

THE DEBT MUST BE PAID.

It was thundered from the heights of official verbiage down to the ears of the people that the price of the primary was always demand a forfeit. Nature's laws cannot be violated with impunity. The primary must follow as night does the day. The picture of human frailty would only present shadows if Dr. Buckhartz made good his threat of banishment from the State for the broken-down constitution and nervous and organic troubles, blood diseases and constipation. Thirty days' treatment at all drug stores, and he is guaranteed to cure or money refunded. You cannot afford to miss this opportunity of being restored to health for such a small sum.

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Fleece-Lined and Heavy-Ribbed Underwear, a garment.....	48c
100 dozen pairs Lisle Web All-Elastic Suspenders, a pair.....	25c
Eclipse Fancy Colored Shirts—stripes, polka dot and fig—80c, 15c. a pair, 2 pairs for.....	80c
Plain White and Fancy Bordered Hemstitched Handkerchiefs, 2 for.....	25c
Wool Half Hose, black, 25c, gray and tan.....	25c
Tan and Gray—dressed or undressed—Kid Gloves, Undergarment, 48c., 98c., and \$1.48 a garment.....	\$1.00

like it, it can and will be abolished by the next State convention, which will assemble next spring or summer to send delegates to the National Democratic convention, and to nominate presidential electors.

Now that sounds very harmless and like a common-place truism.

THE PACK UP THE SLEEVE. So the "next State convention" is the life, which will try the primary for its life.

And how are the delegates to the next State convention to be chosen? Why, by the vicious, discarded old-time mass meetings!

Have the enemies of the primary a pack up the sleeve just here? There is nothing in the party plan of organization, as it exists, with its amendments, up to date, requiring the choice of delegates to any convention to be made by a primary election. Thus, if the old creatures of mass meetings were to be the primary, they would be the creatures of mass meetings.

PRIMARY TRIED BY MASS MEETING. In other words, the primary—the competing system—is to go on trial before the mass meeting—its discarded rival.

The primary, in short, is at the mercy of the mass meeting. It is now our secretary's primary is now our secretary's primary is now our secretary's primary, because it is our weapon against them. But when its own life is to be in jeopardy, itself it cannot save.

The party has solemnly asserted that the primary is "the surest method of arriving at the will of the people and maintaining Democratic institutions." And yet we are going to "arrive at the will of the people" as to the maintenance of this "Democratic institution"—the primary—by mass meetings!

We have fallen into the way of thinking that the method of choosing delegates to a temporary party convention is no great matter as compared with the multi-ty of choosing nominees for office—that the primary is essential for the latter, but that "any old way" is good enough for the former. And hence the late State convention, in adopting the primary system, did not make it cover all party elections (such as choice of delegates). But it is plain now that this choice of convention delegates is a paramount consideration, for on it hangs the whole party law and the fate of the primary system.

Now, why should we have the strange anomaly and absurd spectacle of the primary being tried before the mass meeting presented in Virginia in the next few months? There is no good reason for this. And if it does come, it will be the responsibility of the STATE COMMITTEE RESPONSIBLE. The inevitable answer to this last question is that the State Central Committee rests the calling of State conventions, on the basis of representation therein, and the method of choosing delegates.

Is the State Central Committee bound, by the party law or otherwise, to call the next State convention? Not at all. It can require such delegates to be selected by primary elections. Nay, more; it not only has the power to do this, but there is besides a constraining obligation upon it to do so for the plan of organization of the party, adopted by the State convention on May 28, 1900, reads: "The State (Central) Committee thus constituted is charged with the affairs of the party, and shall have power to perfect its organization and to direct its conduct in obedience to the declarations and policy of the party, as the same shall be set forth by the State conventions." This quotation is from the party con-

stitution, framed in 1900, and that constitution has been amended by the platform of the party adopted by the gubernatorial convention of August, 1901, the amendment being a declaration in favor of the primary system. The primary system, therefore, is to-day the declared "policy of the party" in obedience to which, says the party constitution, the State Central Committee must exercise its powers.

DUTY OF STATE COMMITTEE.

The duty of the committee is plain enough. It is of no avail to say that delegates to the convention of 1900 (when presidential electors, etc., were to be named) were chosen by mass meetings; and that therefore the State Committee should have delegates so chosen for the convention of 1904 (when presidential electors, etc., are again to be named). For in the interim the party policy has been revolutionized, and the primary has been made an article of Democratic faith—a keystone of its creed. The State Committee could not plead precedent here. A declaratory statute, as it were, has intervened.

In the absence of any compulsion to do so, the State Committee will permit the delegates to the next convention to be chosen by mass meeting, thus bringing the primary before an antipathetic tribunal, only because of the committee's own deliberate choice of a system discredited and repudiated by the party.

PRIMARY FOR DELEGATES.

And the primary which the State Committee should order for the election of delegates to our next convention should be uniform in method and held on the same day throughout the State. That is the kind of primary which the party has most explicitly declared for. And can the committee itself eliminate the viva voce abomination from the primary plan which it framed? Yes. Why not? It never had any authority or direction to insert that feature, like a "rider" in the plan. (The question of open or secret ballots is as distinct from and unrelated to the principles of primaries, which is all the last convention adopted, as is any other governmental policy that could be named.) The State Committee need have no delicacy or compunction about discarding viva voce voting forthwith. An agent always has full authority to recall his unauthorized acts.

SCHISMING AGAINST PRIMARY.

So persistent have been the enemies of the primary (they are greatly in the minority, but influential in professional political circles) in their efforts to make it unpopular, that in many places where they lead or control they have flagrantly violated all party law and the primary plan, as furnished by the State Committee, so that strife and contest might follow, so, in a general slur-over, be attributed to the primary system. The idea has been to make the primary a party law and the fate of the primary system. For all that, the public will not discriminate as to the causes, but strike at everything which went together at one time. (The most remarkable violation of the primary plan has as yet passed without newspaper notice. It was a case where the primary for House of Delegates was held in only a part of the election district, by an agreement between the committees of a city and a county making up that district.) But all this clamor over a factitious thing, this holding that primary law and organization, will fall. The people member the mass meetings. They were anni-

LECTURE.

HON. W. BOURKE COCKRAN.

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hiliators. And there is a Roland for your Oliver!

QUEER SENATORIAL PLEDGES.

So cock-sure are the political schemers that they can kill the primary (and they know chances favor them) if they elect delegates to the next convention by mass meetings (as they expect)—so cock-sure are they—that they have been conditionally pledging such nominees for the State Senate as they could vote for certain candidates for United States Senator. These nominees usually explain themselves, it is reported, as favoring A or B, but as intending to bow to the senatorial preferences of "their people" as expressed hereafter in the United States senatorial primary "if held." This is very unsatisfactory, and is big with future trouble for many. The United States senatorial primary is to be a general one, all over the State, and the members of the Legislature for any district is to vote for United States Senator just as the whole State party has voted, and not simply as "his people," in his district, voted. On the latter theory a minority of the party might name the Senator. But as a matter of fact big majorities in particular districts will count in the grand total, and each legislator is instructed and pledged, as are presidential electors, by the whole party in the State at large, to vote for the candidate named.

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